

## Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 080357

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT: MORNING SUMMARY OF SIGNIFICANT REPORTS

### 1. ARBATOV ON SALT

AT LUNCH WITH AMBASSADOR TOON, USA INSTITUTE DIRECTOR  
ARBATOV MADE THE FOLLOWING OBSERVATIONS ON THE SALT NEGOTIATIONS:

--THE US PROPOSALS MADE A BAD IMPRESSION BECAUSE: A)  
THE SOVIETS HAD ALREADY SPECIFICALLY REJECTED THE  
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DEFERRAL OPTION AND WERE SURPRISED THAT IT WAS RAISED  
AGAIN; AND B) THE COMPREHENSIVE PROPOSAL, WHICH WAS  
INTERPRETED AS A TAKE-IT-OR-LEAVE-IT PROPOSITION  
REQUIRING AN ANSWER WITHIN THREE DAYS, GAVE THE APPEARANCE THAT THE US HAD CAST ASIDE THE VLADIVOSTOK AGREEMENT.

--THE SOVIETS DID NOT INTEND TO REJECT ALL ELEMENTS OF THE PACKAGE, BUT ARE NOT PREPARED TO DISCARD THE VLADIVOSTOK AGREEMENT AND START OVER.

--A CERTAIN REDUCTION OF VLADIVOSTOK NUMBERS MAY BE POSSIBLE, BUT THERE IS A POINT OF REDUCTION BEYOND

WHICH US FORWARD-BASED SYSTEMS BECOME HIGHLY RELEVANT TO THE SOVIETS. THE CRUISE MISSILE MAKES THE QUESTION OF REDUCTION EVEN MORE DIFFICULT.

--THE FUTURE PROSPECTS OF SALT DEPEND LARGELY UPON US ACTIONS.

--ALTHOUGH THE HUMAN RIGHTS CONTROVERSY DID NOT AFFECT THE SOVIET DECISION ON SALT, IT "CONDITIONED" THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP TO EXPECT THE WORST. BY RAISING THE LEVEL OF SUSPICION, THE CONTROVERSY PERHAPS MADE THE SOVIET DECISION QUICKER AND EASIER.

AMBASSADOR'S COMMENT: DURING HIS FORTHCOMING VISIT TO THE US, ARBATOV WILL PRESUMABLY SEEK HIGH-LEVEL APPOINTMENTS IN WASHINGTON. IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE FOR US TO IMPRESS UPON HIM THE SERIOUSNESS OF OUR COMMITMENT TO SUBSTANTIAL AND EQUITABLE REDUCTIONS IN STRATEGIC WEAPONS SYSTEMS, AS WELL AS THE DEPTH AND NATURE OF OUR DEDICATION TO THE CAUSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS. ARBATOV STILL SEEMS CONVINCED THAT OUR HUMAN RIGHTS POSTURE IS A CALCULATED ANTI-SOVIET CAMPAIGN. (CONFIDENTIAL) MOSCOW 4807, 4/8.)  
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## 2. SOVIETS SPELL OUT MIDDLE EAST STANCE

EMBASSY MOSCOW REPORTS THAT THE DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF THE FOREIGN MINISTRY'S NEAR EASTERN DIVISION HAS GIVEN A BRITISH DIPLOMAT A DETAILED INTERPRETATION OF BREZHNEV'S MARCH 21 POLICY STATEMENT ON THE MIDDLE EAST. AMONG HIS POINTS:

--THE SOVIETS ARE WILLING TO ACCEPT WHATEVER ARRANGEMENTS THE ARABS AGREE TO CONCERNING BORDER ADJUSTMENTS AND THE FORM OF PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATION AT GENEVA. THEY INSIST, HOWEVER, THAT THE PALESTINIANS SHOULD BE REPRESENTED FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE CONFERENCE.

--A PALESTINIAN STATE SHOULD CONSIST OF THE WEST BANK AND GAZA.

--THE SECRETARY'S EXPLANATION OF "DEFENSIBLE BORDERS" HAS NOT CONVINCED MOSCOW THAT THE IDEA IS ATTRACTIVE,

UNLESS PERHAPS DEMILITARIZED ZONES ARE INSTITUTED ON BOTH SIDES OF THE BORDER.

--THE SOVIETS DO NOT WANT INTERNATIONAL GUARANTEES GIVEN BY THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL IF THIS WOULD INVOLVE THE CHINESE.

EMBASSY COMMENT: THE APPARENTLY DEFINITIVE COMMENT ABOUT A PALESTINIAN STATE COMPRISING THE WEST BANK AND GAZA COMES AT THE SAME TIME AS AN ARTICLE IN A SOVIET JOURNAL DESCRIBING "TALK IN ARAB CAPITALS" OF SUCH A STATE CONNECTED BY A CORRIDOR THROUGH ISRAEL. THIS IS THE FIRST TIME WE HAVE SEEN MENTION OF THIS IDEA IN A SOVIET PUBLICATION. (CONFIDENTIAL) MOSCOW 4747, 4/8.)

### 3. FRENCH REACTION TO STATEMENT ON EUROPEAN COMMUNISTS

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EMBASSY PARIS REPORTS THAT THE DEPARTMENT'S APRIL 6 STATEMENT ON COMMUNISTS IN WESTERN EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS DREW EXTENSIVE AND FAVORABLE REACTION FROM ALL SIDES:

--A LE MONDE FRONT PAGE EDITORIAL SAID PRESIDENT CARTER'S HEART IS STILL WITH THE CURRENT FRENCH GOVERNMENT, BUT HIS AVERSION TO COMMUNIST PARTICIPATION IS FORMULATED IN TERMS "CLEARLY MORE MODERATE" THAN THOSE OF THE KISSINGER/HAIG ERA.

--FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY (PCF) POLITBURO MEMBER KANAPA EXPRESSED HIS SATISFACTION THAT THE US RECOGNIZES COMMUNIST PARTICIPATION AS AN INTERNAL MATTER, AND HE NOTED THAT US FEARS OF COMMUNIST "DOMINATION" DO NOT APPLY TO FRANCE SINCE A LEFT GOVERNMENT WOULD BE A COALITION OF SOCIALISTS, COMMUNISTS AND OTHERS.

--THE ELYSEE POSTURE OF "NO COMMENT" IS GENERALLY CONSIDERED TO BE A SIGN OF SATISFACTION, AS IS THE JUDICIOUS SILENCE OF THE NON-COMMUNIST PARTIES OF THE LEFT COALITION.

--GAULLIST MAYOR OF PARIS CHIRAC SAID THAT HE WAS NOT "IRRITATED" BY EMBASSY CONTACTS WITH THE PCF, ALTHOUGH THEY MIGHT HAVE BEEN HANDLED WITH MORE DISCRETION AND BETTER TIMING.

EMBASSY COMMENT: WHILE CHIRAC TOOK AN UNEMOTIONAL LINE ON CONTACTS WITH KANAPA, IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT NOT ALL OF HIS TROOPS FEEL THE SAME WAY. THE MAJORITY OF THE GAULLIST RANK-AND-FILE ARE STILL SUFFERING FROM THE SHOCK OF THE

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS AND MAY AT TIMES LOOK FOR AN EXTERIOR  
SCAPEGOAT. (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE) PARIS 10486, 4/8.)  
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